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I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Habitat

101 The Timbira habitat extends from 3° to 9° S. latitude and from 42° to 49° W. 131 longitude—through the northeastern part of the Central Brazilian steppe area, where that area adjoins the southeastern tip of the Amazon rain forests. The tropical forest extends back of the coastal steppe strip liable to inundation, beginning at a point on the Tocantins somewhat above the Araguaya confluence, and includes the entire Gurupy basin, the middle and lower Pindaré, the lower Grajahú, and the lower Mearim. Its domain comprises the present habitat of the following Timbira tribes: the Western Gaviões; the Krẽyé of Cajuapára; the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal.*

134 But by far the greatest part of Timbira territory is covered by high steppes and 137 dry forest; tall timber occurs only in the form of *galeria* forests along the brooks 133 and rivers, also at times on the slopes of the so-called mountains (*serras*), at the foot of which these watercourses usually develop from many minor springs. These inextensive wooded tracts are of great economic significance for the steppe Indian, since they offer the only soil suitable for his primitive husbandry.

The *galeria* forest further provides not only the material for housebuilding, but also the extremely important burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), the leaves of which furnish the main material for basketry while its fruits are edible and its trunks are made into logs carried in relay races. Further, there are the oleaginous babassu palm (*Orbignia speciosa*); the sororóca (*Heliconia* sp.) with its gigantic leaves, indispensable in Indian cookery; and many other useful plants.

The predominant part of the Timbira steppes consists of *campos cerrados*, that is, grass tracts with more or less dense stands of trees and bushes. Absolutely pure steppes I have seen only in the upper Pindaré country, and even these were only of minor extent. The two Timbira tribes of that region—Krīkatí and Pukóbye— [101] are accordingly called by the other members of their branch Popéykateye (inhabitants of true [or beautiful], pey, steppes, põ).

The prevailing grass species is Capim agreste (*Pannascum* sp.). Noteworthy among the trees are the sucupira (*Cassiea* sp.), which symbolizes for the Timbira the power of resistance; the sambahyba (*Couratella* sp.), whose rough leaves serve to polish wood; the pau de leite (*Sapium* sp.), whose latex when mixed with powdered charcoal forms the favorite pigment; the tucum palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), important for its fibers; the almecegueira (*Protium* sp.) with an odorous rosin much used in decorative outfits; finally, the fruit-bearing piquy (*Caryocar* sp.), bacury (*Platonia* sp.), and the mangabeira (*Hancornia* sp.).

[134] The soil is mostly sandy, more rarely clayey, and still more rarely rocky. The 133 northern Timbira country is rather flat, rising only quite imperceptibly southward. [114] Even the most recent maps (Stieler, 1928) crowd the southern half with mountain chains—to the grave disappointment of an observer on the spot, who finds simply mesas and small plateaus with steep slopes, sporadic residual phenomena, mostly

104 * In the rendering of the aboriginal terms with which the monograph bristles it seemed best to adhere to the orthography established for The Apinayé, a slight simplification of that chosen by Nimuendajú himself. A tilde over vowels indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal. The latter symbol is necessary, because it defines a phonemic difference. The following values hold for symbols requiring explanation:

ẽ = first German e in Ehe	ŋ = half vocalic ng	ž = French j
õ = German o in ohne	š = English sh	x = German ch in ach
ö, ü = as in German	č = Spanish ch	' = glottal stop

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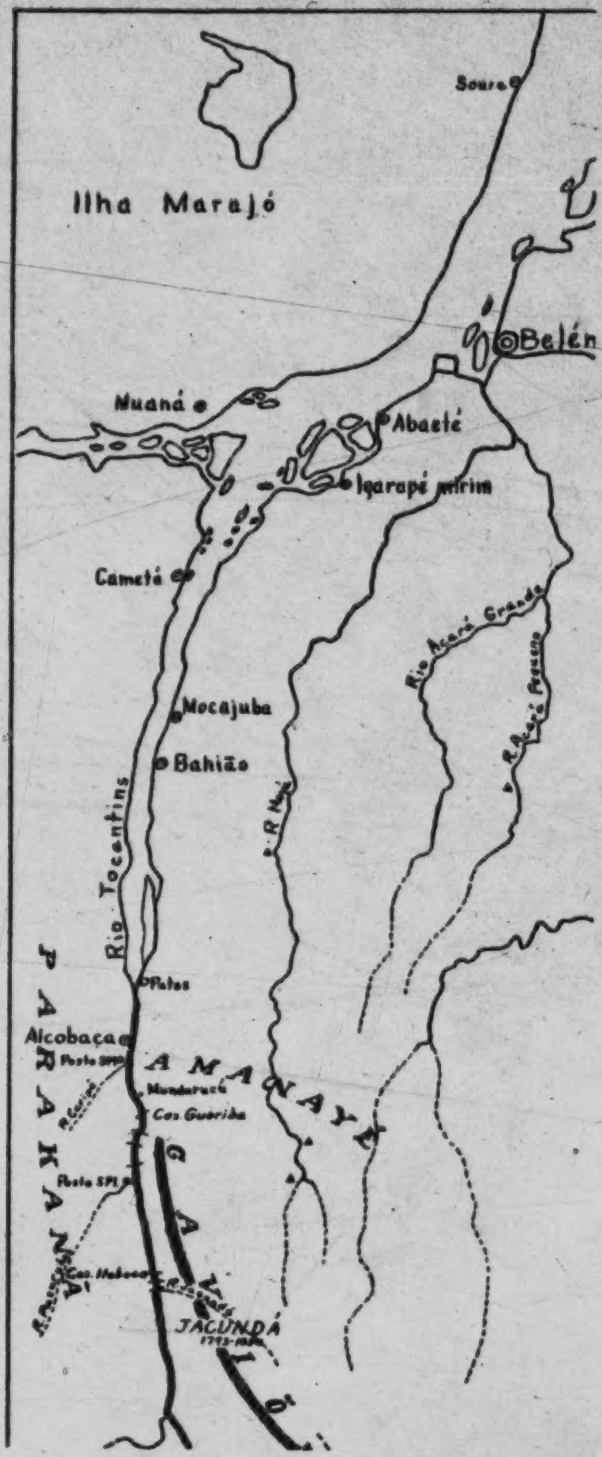

Map 1 (A) facing p.2

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MAP 1 (B) facing p. 2

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MAP 1 (c) facing p.2

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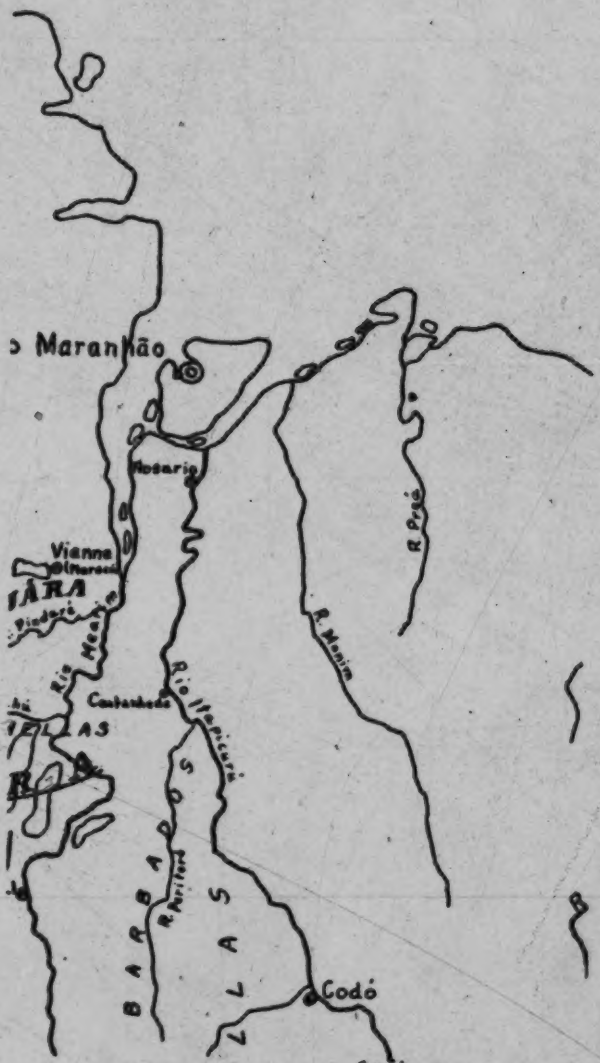

MAP 1 (D) facing p.2

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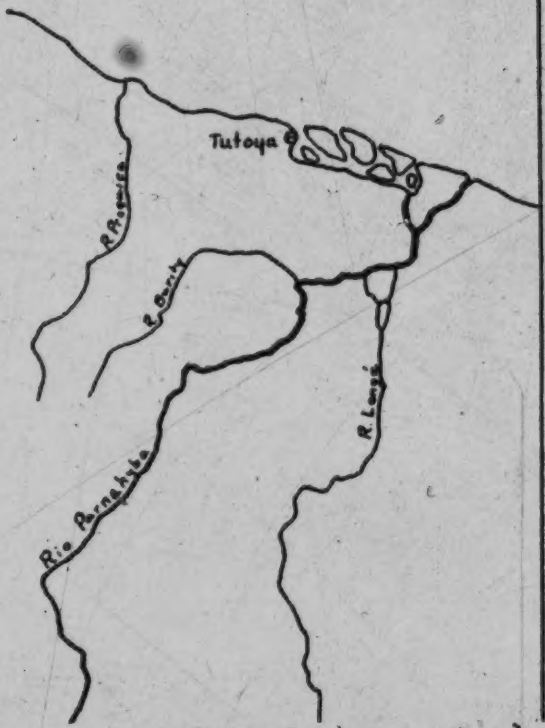

MAP 1 (E) facing p.2

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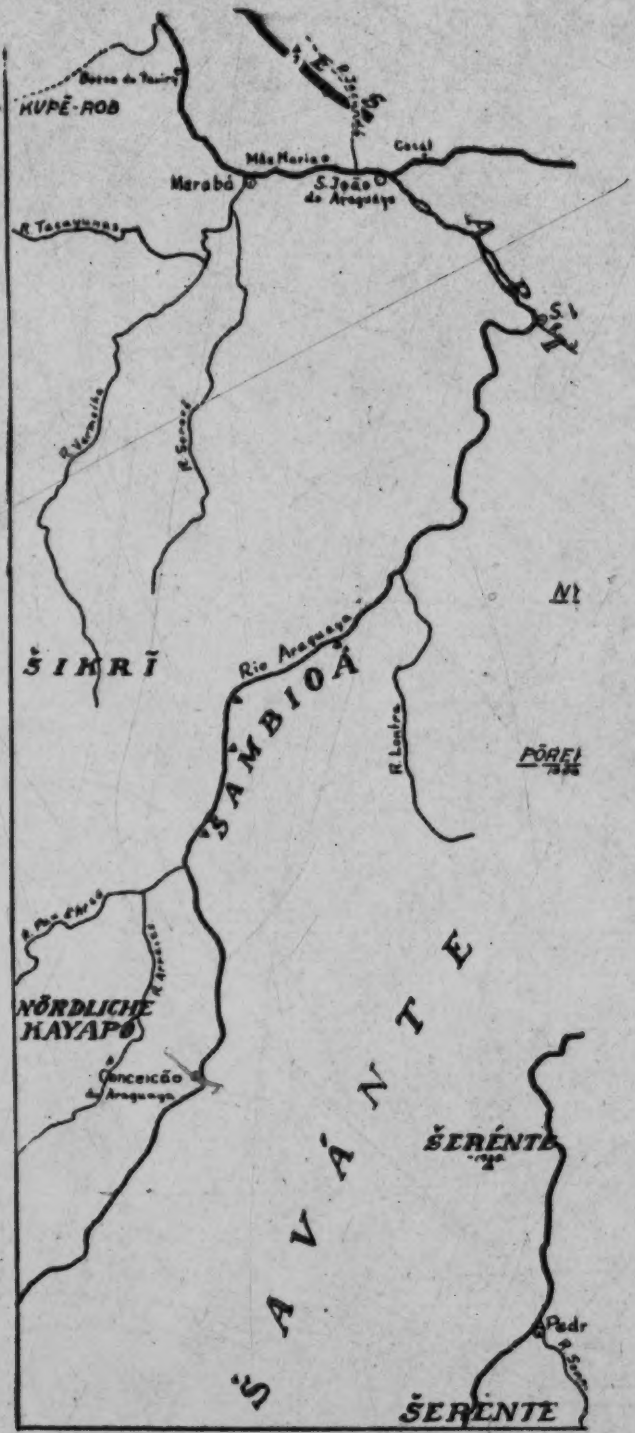

To accompany Nori Nimuendajú, "The Eastern Timbira," Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. &

MAP 1 (F) facing P. 2

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MAP 1 (G) facing p. 2

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Fig. 1. Eastern Timbira (underlined) and neighboring tribes. Broken line indicat

MAP 1(H) facing p. 2

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ndicates extinct or merged tribes.

MAP 1 (I) facing p.2

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MAP 2 (J) facing p. 2

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619 721 166 195

In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Čą'kamekra.

619 175 161

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[a] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

619 101 161

In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

619 197

The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára

619 101 197

The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre' pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pihą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Piocamecrans, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.[b] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

619 175 [131] [161]

Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[c]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

[b] Cazal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.

[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

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among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[b] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócas-mecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[c]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[d] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mąkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[b] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[c] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[d] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

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north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioës settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pukóbye *and* Krîkatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pukóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krîkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krîkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apa'nyekra to harbor them, the Krîkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krîkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pukóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Eintellung und Verbreitung.

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6. The Pụkóbye

The Pụkóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krĩkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pụkóp or pọkóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krĩkatí, Kre'pụ'mkateye, and occasionally the Rąmkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krĩkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[a]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[b] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pụkóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pụkóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[c] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[d]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krĩkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pụkóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

[a] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[b] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[c] J. F. Coelho, 76. [d] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

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constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Frič's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pukóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. The Kre'pų'mkateye

This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Ramkõ'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krį̃' pų'mkateye or Kreapų'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pų'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Ramkõ'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karēkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pų'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[a] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[b] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

The 1919 census of the Serviço do Proteeção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pų'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krīkatí and Pųkóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. The Krahõ'

This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." [b] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

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(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupẽpụõ̃' (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the Krahõ', Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ' were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ' must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ' begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.[166]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ' until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[167] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ' mistress. In any case the Krahõ' henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ', but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the Krahõ' girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[168] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ' chief Apúierît, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[166] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.
[167] *Ibid.*, 2:137.
[168] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara."

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After Magalhães' death the Krahô′ constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[96] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50′, and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahô′, attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahô′ sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô′ on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[97] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô′ had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[98] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahô′ territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40′. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô′ settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô′ farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[99] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Šavánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahô′ permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[100] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[101] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô′ owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahô′ chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tę′m). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahô′ village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[96] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[97] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[98] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[99] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[100] Tuggia, 122.
[101] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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115 In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the
101 Serviço de Proteecão aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegieran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

115 What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his
171 people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone
114 knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

619 I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio
● 131 Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

177 The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

619 The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra
131 Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time
621 being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

619 In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye
162 villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

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Personally I should prefer to follow Roberts's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.[96] In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apą'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella,* not *dos Canellas,* as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia.* In the late summer of 1908 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.[97]

619 175 [161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[98] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkõbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[99] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.[100]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[96] Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brasil.
[97] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Aragnaya-Reise, 41.
[98] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[99] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).
[100] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

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619 101 (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the "Ponecera" as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Cą'kamekra).[a] In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with Krahõ', which had come on a visit to Caxias.[b] His orthography of the tribal name, "Aponegierans," proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro's spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius' word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the "Sch" symbol is due to the occasional merging of the "y" sound into "z" or "ž" among the Apą'nyekra (as well as Krahõ').

619 115 In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a Rąmakõ'kamekrere, that is, Rąmkõ'kamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apą'nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noleto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be Rąmkõ'kamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

619 131 The Apą'nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tributary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the Rąmkõ'kamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda: into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pųkóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

619 721 198 Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present village. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the Krahõ' and Pųkóbye have always been better.

619 161 The census of 1919 estimates the Apą'nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

619 131 101 *13. The Rąmkõ'kamekra.*—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apą'nyekra occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers.[c]

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kõ, water) in turn gets its name from the almecega trees (rąm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its banks. Thus, the word as a whole designates "the tribe on the almecega water."

[a] Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.
[b] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:820. Beiträge, 2:149.
[c] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 464. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 167.

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619 101 To the Apąʼnyekra, Krahōʼ and Pụkóbye they are known as Kọʼikra, Kọirumekra (eastern tribe, from kọʼi east, kọʼirum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records; yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

619 131 Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50′, where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čąʼkamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apąʼnyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

619 721 175 Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čąʼkamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempē′, marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čąʼkamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[172] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

619 175 648 Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čąʼkamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempē′ and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

619 648 173 Rąmkōʼkamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempē′, whose

[172] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.
[173] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

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sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karēkateye.—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[166] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[167]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[168] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

The Krõ'rekamekra.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[169] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10′; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[170] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[166] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[167] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[168] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."
[169] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[170] Martius, Beiträge, 2:264. Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

It seems to be a common feature

/45 cont./

177 of all Gẽ tribes that they generally assume a bluntly negative attitude toward the civilizing efforts of the Portuguese population and, however much inclined they are to accept the amenities offered to them by the Whites with respect to material things, nevertheless in other respects they continue to live in strictly conservative fashion with the traditional tribal usages and customs.

797 In this matter even a century long catechism has not been able to change anything essential.

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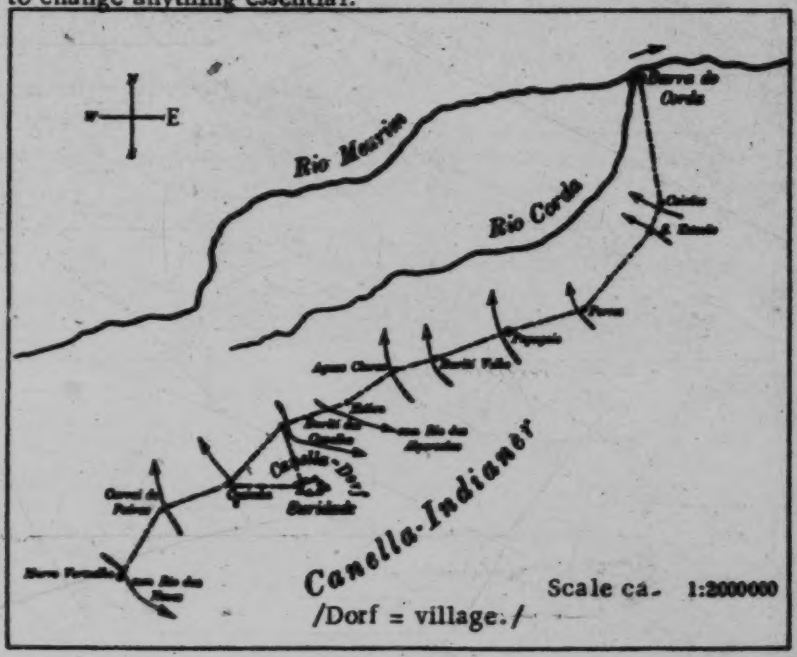

797 According to concurring mission reports, there seems to have
177 been no success at all /46/ in achieving any lasting influencing and
171 education of a Gẽ tribe in the sense of European culture.

For example, the French Dominicans on the Araguaia, according to their own statements, have been unable to exert any permanent educative influence even of only nominal value on the Kayapó /Cayapo/ during a period of almost 15 years of devoted missionary activity.

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
6/9 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
30/ of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally calléd Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
36/ Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĭ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

A good hour's journey behind Buritĭ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.